Striving for Perfection: On the Various Ways of Translating Sanskrit into Tibetan

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IN 1976 OR 1977 I HAPPENED to meet the Swiss Indologist Heinz Zimmermann in his home in Basel, Switzerland. In 1975 he had published his doctoral thesis bearing the ornate title *Die Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā (dem Āryaśūra zugeschrieben). Ein Vergleich zur Darlegung der Irrtumsrisiken bei der Auswertung tibetischer Übersetzungen* ("The Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā [attributed to Āryaśūra]: A Comparison in Order to Illustrate the Risk of Error while Utilizing Tibetan Translations")[1] on which I had written a lengthy review.[2] His thesis consists of a meticulous text-critical study of the above-mentioned work in comparison with its Tibetan translation. The work consists of 191 stanzas composed in twenty-two different meters and written in an ambitious ornate style. The title of the work means "Sermon in the form of a basket filled with jewels consisting of well-formulated stanzas," and for the sake of brevity I refer to it as the *Subhāṣitaratna.*

The *The Subhāṣitaratna* is divided into twenty-seven short sections and basically consists of a flowery appeal to Buddhist laypeople to donate various items to the members of the Buddhist order. Both the items and the reward for donating them are specified. At the time when Zimmermann began to work on his thesis the *Subhāṣitaratna* was little known, for its *editio princeps* had appeared only in 1959 as an appendix to the Indian edition of Āryaśūra´s *Jātakamālā,*[3] and no translation or analysis of the work existed. The work itself seemed to have some literary weight since it was attributed to the Buddhist poet Āryaśūra, who lived before the fifth century and to whom we owe an early masterpiece of Sanskrit literature, the *Jātakamālā* ("Garland of Birth-Stories"). In fact it is a late compilation of poor literary quality

except for the borrowings from older literary works as I have shown in my short monograph on the *Subhāṣitaratna*.[4]

The Indian editor of the *Subhāṣitaratna*, Anukul Chandra Banerjee, mentions that he consulted its Tibetan translation; however, he came to the conclusion that it must have been made from a different text since the deviations between the two texts were too great.[5] Banerjee's statement carries some weight since he himself had published the first bilingual edition of Daṇḍin´s *Kāvyādarśa* outside Tibet. It was particularly this passage that had aroused the curiosity of Zimmermann, as he told me at our first encounter. When by chance he had come across the Sanskrit text of the *Subhāṣitaratna* he decided to study it in detail and to compare it with its Tibetan translation about whose excellence and reliability he had heard and read. His disappointment could not have been greater with any other text. Due to really bad luck he had selected the poorest Tibetan translation of an Indian work that I have seen in more than forty years of reading Tibetan canonical texts. At a certain time Zimmermann must have doubted the mental health of scholars praising the Tibetan translations in an exaggerated manner.

Because of my review and my later re-edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Subhāṣitaratna* I had the not-so-pleasant opportunity to read the Tibetan *Subhāṣitaratna* in great detail. I would like to give two illustrations of its quality and style. Stanza 161 runs as follows:

[a] *saṃmānayanti guruvad guṇavantam āryaṃ*
[b] *tejasvino 'pi dhanino 'pi manasvino 'pi |*
[c] *tasmān naro narapater api yaḥ sakāśāt*
[d] *saṃmānam icchati sa rakṣatu śīlam eva || 161 ||*

The mighty, the rich, the intelligent, all of them honor
a noble person full of virtues as if he were a guru.
Therefore a man who wishes to be respected
even by a king has to protect [his own] morality.

The Tibetan rendering runs as follows:[6]

[a --] *yang dag drang bya bla ma bzhin ||*
[--- a/b --] *yon tan ldan 'phags gzi brjid ldan ||*
[--- bb] *nor ni dang ni mkhyen ldan ni ||*
[cc --] *de phyir rgyal po rnams kyi ni ||*
[-- -- c/d --] *drung du nye bar mchod 'dod pas ||*

[-- d] *tshul khrims 'dis ni bsrung bar gyis ||*
To be led/guided/conducted (?) like a teacher [is]
the virtuous noble person, [by] the mighty,

[by] those who are wealthy [or] intelligent;
therefore because by him who wishes to be respected even by a king,
by this one [his own] morality is to be protected.

This stanza illustrates two characteristic features of the Tibetan *Subhāṣitaratna*. First, it does not preserve the metrical structure of the original that has four lines of fourteen syllables each, being composed in the frequently used Vasantatilaka meter. Usually this meter would have been rendered by a stanza of four lines of eleven or thirteen syllables each. Instead Rudra and Śā kya 'od, the Indian and Tibetan translators of the *Subhāṣitaratna*, decided to use only the most common type of Tibetan verse in which the line consists of seven syllables. Thus they could not use a fixed number of lines to render a Sanskrit stanza. Shorter stanzas consisting of shorter lines in Sanskrit require fewer lines in Tibetan; those consisting of longer lines, like Śārdūlavikrīḍita (nineteen syllables per line) and Sragdharā (twenty-one syllables per line), require more lines in Tibetan. Actually the number of lines in the Tibetan *Subhāṣitaratna* varies between four and twelve. This decision of the translators is not objectionable at all since stanzas consisting of shorter lines are undoubtedly easier to follow and to understand. Second, the translators obviously tried to strictly maintain the order of words of the original. This was, of course, a fatal decision since an inflectional language like Sanskrit permits a comparatively free word order whereas an agglutinating language like classical Tibetan has a relatively strict word order. There are, however, exceptions that can be tolerated, but certainly not to the extent displayed in this stanza.

The translation of the second half of the stanza is not completely wrong, and it is by and large intelligible. There are, however, some things to be mentioned. First, the relative construction was not maintained. Both the relative pronoun *yaḥ* and the noun it refers to, *naraḥ*, remained untranslated. This is again not objectionable and can be regarded as a transformation of the Indian structure into a Tibetan one. Both words would then be included in the agent *'dod pas* ("he who wishes"). If this was the intention of the translators then it was not a fortunate decision to render the correlative pronoun *sa* by *'dis.* This repetition of the case particle is not permitted in Tibetan, and hence it will puzzle the Tibetan reader who now has to make up his or her mind which of the two, *'dod pas* and *'dis,* is the agent and which is the instrumental. And moreover, the use of the demonstrative pronoun *'dis* has

become meaningless after the omission of the relative expression *naro
. . . yaḥ* to which it originally referred. My English translation is a kind
of concession and based on the assumption that the reader correctly
grasps what was meant by the original Sanskrit, which is actually not
very likely.

The Tibetan translation of the first half of the stanza is, I dare say,
largely unintelligible and therefore wrong, not as far as the individual
words are concerned, but because of its unclear syntax. Unfortunately
the predicate of the Sanskrit sentence assumes the first position in
line (a), as in the original. There it is not only permissible but also
serves a specific function: it marks and stresses the compound verb
saṃmānayanti that will be repeated in its nominal form *saṃmānam* at
the beginning of line (d). The Tibetan rendering *yang dag drang bya bla*
("to be led/guided/conducted") completely obscures the meaning of
the first part of the stanza, both lexically and syntactically. When read
as a Tibetan text one would rather regard the expression as an attribute
of the following word *bla ma* ("teacher"), certainly not as predicate of
the sentence. What follows after *bla ma bzhin* ("like a teacher") is a se-
ries of nominal expressions that verbally correspond to their Sanskrit
counterparts; however, the relationship between them is completely
unclear. My English rendering of the first half of the stanza is again
based on the assumption that the translators might have understood
it that way and that it actually presupposes *mkhyen ldan pas* instead of
mkhyen ldan ni; however, I am sure that not even an educated Tibetan
will analyze it in this manner. In particular, the isolation particle *ni*
at the end of line (c) can hardly be understood as a kind of final or
semifinal particle. Despite all its shortcomings the Tibetan translation
points to an interesting variant reading that is worth consideration
and which, for the sake of convenience, I have adopted in my presen-
tation of the Sanskrit text above. It concerns the word *guruvad* in line
(a), which is actually Zimmermann's emendation on the basis of *bla ma
bzhin* in the Tibetan *Subhāṣitaratna.* The Nepalese tradition of the text,
be it primary and secondary, unequivocally reads *guravo* instead of *gu-
ruvad.* In the unaltered version of the Sanskrit text the first half of the
stanza would have to be translated as:

> The respectable, the mighty, the rich, the intelligent,
> all of them honor a noble person full of virtues.

This is, of course, also meaningful, but the text as reflected by the
Tibetan translation sounds more pithy to me.

Next, I would like to present a "correct" version of the Tibetan text, a purely fictitious text, of course, composed in the lines of the language of the great translator of Indian *kāvya* texts, Shong-ston rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan, with whose works I am particular familiar:

saṃmānayanti guruvad guṇavantam āryaṃ
tejasvino 'pi dhanino 'pi manasvino 'pi |
tasmān naro narapater api yaḥ sakāśāt
saṃmānam icchati sa rakṣatu śīlam eva || 161 ||

*gzi brjid ldan dang nor dang ldan dang mkhyen ldan rnams kyis kyang ||
yon tan ldan pa'i 'phags pa bla ma bzhin du yang dag bsnyen ||
de phyir gang zhig rgyal po'i drung nas yang dag bsnyen pa dag ||
'dod pa'i mi des tshul khrims kho na bsrung bar bgyi ba'o ||*

This illustration of a translation as it should or could have run is not entirely hypothetical. As my former student Siglinde Dietz has shown in her monumental thesis on the Buddhist epistolary literature,[7] two stanzas of the *Subhāṣitaratna* became included in one of the letters, the *Cittaratnaviśodhanakramalekha,* in a section called *Maṇḍalavidhi,* which also exists as an independent Tibetan translation in the Tibetan Tanjur. As Dietz notes, this separate translation is by far superior in quality to that of the Tibetan *Subhāṣitaratna.*[8]

This usage of imperspicuous syntactical Sanskritisms and grave lexical mistakes can be found in practically every stanza, and it is an unsolved riddle to me how the translators could assume that their work would be intelligible to an ordinary Tibetan reader. I would like to present one more stanza, not discussing every detail, but focusing only on one of the grossest mistakes in the Tibetan version of the *Subhāṣitaratna,* a mistake quite typical of a very beginner, not of a professional team of translators. Stanza 36 runs as follows:

kauśeyakāśikadukūlavicitravastrā
muktāvalīkanakaratnavibhūṣitāṅgāḥ |
yat ke cid eva *puruṣāḥ śriyam udvahanti*
puṇyasya pūrvacaritasya kṛtajñatā sā || 36 ||

That just some people are able to display the splendor of wealth
by wearing various garments made of thin silk from Benares,
their bodies being adorned by necklaces of pearls, gold, and jewels—
that is the gratitude of merit acquired in a previous life.

dar dang kā shi du kū la ||
sna tshogs gos dang mu tig phreng ||
gser dang nor bus yan lag brgyan ||

gang dag lha 'dra'i *skyes bu dpal ||*
bsod nams bzhon pa la zhon pas ||
des byas yin par shes par gyis ||

I refrain from translating the Tibetan stanza and I am leaving aside the mysterious rendering *bzhon pa la* ("in a vehicle") for *pūrvacaritasya* ("in a previous life") (!), the mechanical rendering *bzhon pas* ("by riding") for *udvahanti* ("[they] carry," i.e., [they] display"), and the really non-sensical rendering *des byas yin par shes par gyis* ("one should know that it is made thereby") for *kṛtajñatā sā* ("that [is] the gratitude")—where in an atomized form *kṛta°* is represented by *byas*, *°jña°* by *shes par gyis*, *°tā* by *yin par,* and *sā* by *des*—and would like to draw your attention only to the expression **gang dag lha 'dra'i** *skyes bu* ("which god-like people"). I am sure you will admit only very reluctantly that "god-like" reflects the two syllables *°d eva* in *ke cid eva.* This is the type of mistake we expect only from a first-year student of Sanskrit in Europe but never from a mature scholar grown up and educated in India. By coincidence the same silly mistake can be found in what John Brough has styled "the Chinese pseudo-translation of Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-Mālā."[9]

After this illustration of what a Tibetan translation of an Indian should not be, I would like to present a few general considerations before continuing with my illustrations of various types of Tibetan translations that are less frustrating than the Tibetan *Subhāṣitaratna.* Basically I would like to deal with two questions: (1) Do we always know what form of text we are talking about when speaking about the types and quality of Tibetan translations of Indian works? (2) What did the Tibetans themselves aim at when they rendered Indian texts into Tibetan? As for the first question I have dealt with one of its aspects in my paper "On Some Old Corruptions in the Transmission of the Tibetan Tanjur."[10] There I tried to show the possible interferences, at various stages, between the original message of a text or author, its translation into another language, and the interpretation of that translation.

Let us assume, for the sake of simplicity, that there can be only four kinds of interferences:

(1) The transmission of the original text
(2) The translation of the original text into Tibetan
(3) The transmission of the Tibetan translation
(4) The translation of the Tibetan text into modern languages.

If we apply the binary system "correct" (C) and "incorrect" (I) to these interferences then there are already 2^4 = 16 possible ways of

transmission of the basic information. These possibilities are shown in figure 1.

For an ordinary reader of a book or paper it is quite often only the last stage at the bottom of the diagram that she or he is confronted with, since this is the usual case when a modern scholar (or amateur) presents her or his interpretation of a passage from an Indian Buddhist work of which only its Tibetan translation is extant. We all know that hardly any text in any cultural tradition is transmitted in an unadulterated form over a long span of time. There are only a very few exceptions where a very strict and lasting oral tradition could be established. In the Indian context I would like to mention the *Ṛgveda* or Pāṇini's grammar. The same exposure to corruptions holds true for the transmission of the Tibetan translations, and while working on these texts I have come across again and again instances where an originally correct translation has corrupted. Usually this can be noticed and explained only if and when the original Sanskrit is still available. Particularly tricky are those cases in which the altered text is again meaningful, and this is quite often the case since the alterations in a text are basically of two types: unintended alterations, e.g., scribal mistakes, mechanical loss of text, mistakes caused by the change of scripts, etc.; and deliberate alterations, e.g., the emendation of an intelligent scribe who wrongly suspects a corruption. Quite recently I came across such a case in which the altered text sounded so sensible that for along time I was convinced that the Tibetan was based on a Sanskrit text other than the one known to me. Only after I had seen what was the cause of the corruption did I became able to restore what I believe the translator originally wrote. The example is so simple and obvious that I would like to present it here. Stanza 47 of the *Prajñādaṇḍa* runs as follows:[11]

> **bogs med tshong dang 'khor ldan dag la 'tshe ||**
> *slong zhing 'gying la nor med 'dod la dga' ||*
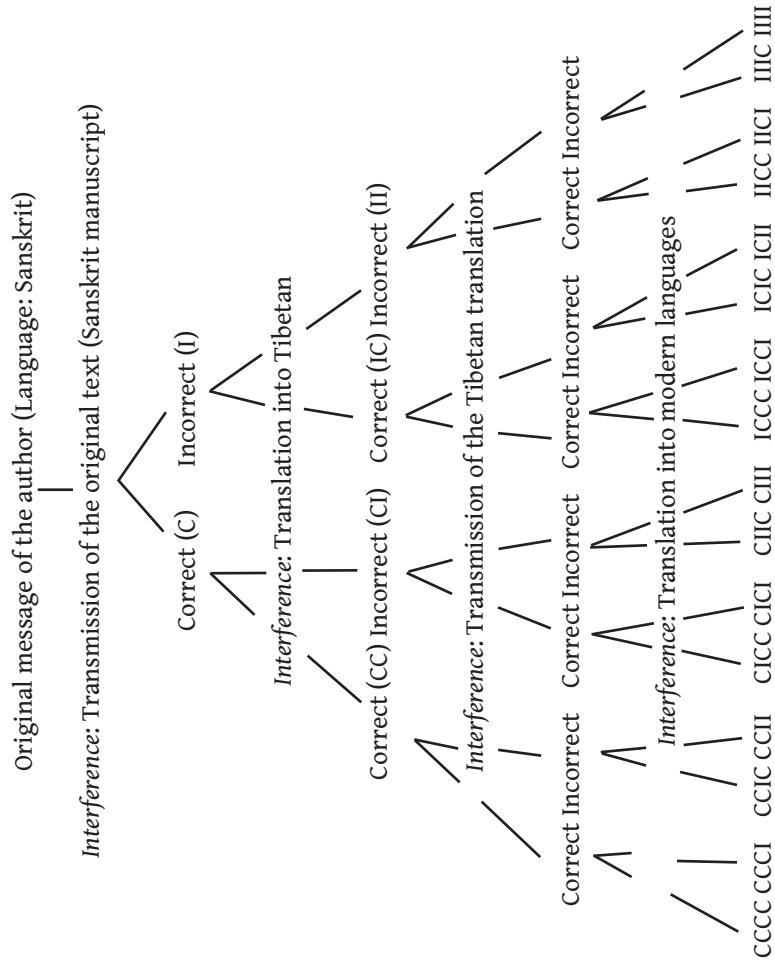> *bud med gzhon la tshig rtsub smra ba ste ||*
> *skyes bu log par spyod pa de lnga'o ||*
>
> (47a) **bogs** (*pogs* C) **med tshong dang 'khor ldan dag la 'tshe** CDNQ, *bogs med tshong dang stobs ldan dag la 'tshe* GśT 65; (47b) *'gyid* (?) CN; (47c) *na*
>
> *chung sdug la tshig rtsub smra byed pa* GśT 65; (47d) *'di lnga log par byed pa'i skye bu'o* GśT 65
>
> [He who] trade[s] without profit,
> who does harm to those having friends ["entourage"],

Figure 1. Interference and the Transmission of Texts

Original message of the author (Language: Sanskrit)

Interference: Transmission of the original text (Sanskrit manuscript)

Correct (C)   Incorrect (I)

Interference: Translation into Tibetan

Correct (CC) Incorrect (CI)   Correct (IC) Incorrect (II)

Interference: Transmission of the Tibetan translation

Correct Incorrect   Correct Incorrect   Correct Incorrect   Correct Incorrect

Interference: Translation into modern languages

CCCC CCCI   CCIC CCII   CICC CICI   CIIC CIII   ICCC ICCI   ICIC ICII   IICC IICI   IIIC IIII

> he who begs and is proud,
> he who has no money and rejoices in sexual pleasures,
> he who speaks harsh words to young women—
> these are the five [types of] men who behave wrongly.

The meaning of the stanza seems to be quite reasonable; however, there are one major and two minor discrepancies if one compares the Tibetan text with the Sanskrit stanza, which was most presumably the original of the Tibetan verse. It can be found in *Cāṇakya-Nīti* 897, which goes back to *Cāṇakyanītiśāstra* 8.14 (as edited in *Cāṇakya-Nīti*), and it is also *Garuḍapurāṇa* 1.115.16 and *Gāthāśataka* 65.[12] It runs as follows:[1]

> *vaṇik pramādī bhṛtakaś ca mānī bhikṣur vilāsī vidhanaś ca kāmī |*
> *veśyāṅganā*[a] *cāpriyavādinī*[b] *ca*[c] *prajāpater duścaritāni pañca ||*

> (a) *varāṅganā* [*Garuḍapurāṇa*] 1.115.16; (b) *vāpriyavādinī* [*Cāṇakyanītiśāstra*] (var.); (c) read *cāpriyavādinī yā*?

> A careless tradesman and an arrogant servant,
> a monk longing for distractions and a lover without money,
> a courtesan speaking unfriendly words [to her suitor]—
> these are the five misdeeds of the creator.

The major discrepancy concerns the first line. Here only the word *vaṇik* seems to have an equivalent in Tibetan: the word *tshong* ("trade," or—if we take it as a metrical shortening of *tshong pa*—"trader"). However, with a few alterations, all of which are palaeographically close to the canonical text, the Tibetan text can be brought into perfect agreement with the Sanskrit. (1) Instead of *bogs med* we have to read *bag med*, which is the standard equivalent of *pramāda* or *pramādin*, if taken as a metrical abbreviation of *bag med pa*. (2) Instead of *'khor ldan* we have to read *khur ldan* where *khur* renders *bhṛta* and *ldan* the suffix *-ka*. (3) Instead of *dag la* we have to read *nga rgyal*. This seems to be a bold emendation; however, given the similarity between *nga* and *da* and disregarding the position of the *tsheg* all we have to assume is that **rgya* has lost both its superscript and subscript. (4) Instead of *'tshe* we have to read *che*. The term *nga rgyal che* occurs again in stanza 53b of the *Prajñādaṇḍa* where it renders *mānī*! To one who may have some qualms about these four emendations, my question is: how likely is it that a presumably correct text can so easily be altered that it represents exactly the wording of the Sanskrit? The text of *Gāthāśataka* 65 represents the corrupt Tibetan text (and its meaning) with one more redactional change: *'khor ldan* ("having an entourage") was replaced by *stobs ldan*

("possessing strength, strong"), which made the text more intelligible for the Tibetan reader.

The first minor discrepancy concerns line c. Here *bud med* is a very unspecific rendering of *veśyāṅganā* "courtesan," and *gzhon la* ("to a young") has no Sanskrit equivalent at all. Perhaps the Sanskrit text had the variant reading *varāṅganā*, "an excellent woman," given above, which was freely rendered as *bud med gzhon *pa* "a young woman." This assumption is at least partly supported by *Gāthāśataka* 65 where we read *na chung sdug pa*, "a beautiful young woman." *sdug pa* could be a free but suitable rendering of *vara-* "excellent." Another possibility, however less likely, would be to alter *gzhon la* to **gzhan la* ("speaking harsh words to others") and regard this as an addition of the translator.[14]

Finally there is *skyes bu* ("man") taking the place of *prajāpater* ("of the creator"). This could either be an intentional simplification, perhaps caused by metrical considerations since **skyes bu'i bdag po*, the standard equivalent of *prajāpati*, would have required too many syllables, or we simply have to alter the text to *skyes bdag.*

Thus, the first step before making an assessment of the quality of a Tibetan translation is to make sure that one has the "correct"—or at least the best possible—text lying before one, although this is easier said than done. Then is another even more basic point that is quite often not explicitly mentioned or dealt with when a modern scholar reads, translates, or analyzes the Tibetan translation of an Indian text. One has to decide what one is going to establish, to translate, or to analyze:

(a) The text in its actual form, i.e., in the edited form it received in the eighteenth century when most of the block prints used nowadays were carved.

(b) The archetype of the modern editions as it can be reconstructed by using the methods and principles of classical textual criticism.

(c) The text as it was understood by the translators themselves and as it probably left their hands.

(d) The text as it was to be understood by the Indian author himself.

This might appear to be an artificial classification, which by any means it is not. If one looks at modern editions, translations, and studies one will find all the four types represented.

The first type will be found when the student has as his or her primary source only a modern printed book or the reproduction of a single block print edition and uncritically takes this at its face value. This happens more often than one is inclined to think. Actually this is not different from the usual attitude of an educated Westerner when he or she studies a Western classic. When reading Shakespeare or Vergilius, as a rule one does not use a scholarly edition with full critical apparatus but only an edition that is or ultimately should be based on a work of that kind.

The second type is becoming more and more popular among scholars with the growing number of critical editions being produced. However, one should not be mistaken. The archetype that is being reconstructed is by no means identical with the works of the translators. In the case of the canonical texts it is, in most cases, the text as established at the beginning of the fourteenth century when the first hand-written copy of Kanjur and Tanjur was produced.[15] Many texts, however, were translated already at the beginning of the ninth century, i.e., half a millennium earlier, which left ample room for corruptions as I have shown in the preceding example. Of course, in many cases the conscious editor knows that the wording of the archetype is not correct and his critical apparatus will run as follows in the case of the *Prajñādaṇḍa* stanzas:

> *bogs med tshong dang 'khor ldan dag la 'tshe* α | (obviously corrupted from *bag med tshong dang 'khur ldan nga rgyal che*)

where α stands for the archetype. The modern critical editions quite often represent a compromise between the second and third type.

The third type of text is usually aimed at instances in which the Sanskrit original is still available and permits us to detect a corruption of the aforementioned type. Of course, it is not the task of the editor to correct a faulty translation as I did, for the sake of illustration only, with the Tibetan translation of *Subhāṣitaratna* 36. Only when there can be little doubt about the nature of the corruption and one has a sound and valid knowledge of the style and ability of the translator is one entitled to restore what the translator originally wrote.

The fourth type may sound strange. How is it possible to see the correct Sanskrit text behind a faulty translation when the Sanskrit original is lost? There are in fact quite a few texts where exactly this is the main task of the modern editor. One very famous example is an old and important Buddhist epistemological work, Dignāga's

Pramāṇasamuccaya. Until recently its Sanskrit original was regarded as irretrievably lost, and all we had was a certain number of quotations in other philosophical works—two extremely poor and faulty Tibetan translation and a much better Tibetan translation of a commentary. To restore the original thought of Dignāga thus became a very challenging intellectual puzzle. One good example is Hattori's book *Dignāga, On Perception*,[16] in which the first chapter is edited, translated, and partly restored from its Tibetan translation. One should also read Ernst Steinkellner's review of Hattori's book in which he discusses some possible methodological pitfalls.[17] I would like to give two simple and—as I hope—convincing examples of how it is possible to restore the correct Sanskrit text behind a faulty Tibetan translation.

First, in the Tibetan translation of Haribhaṭṭa's *Udayajātaka* the name of the city in which the Bodhisattva lived when he was born as the rich merchant Udaya is given in Tibetan translation as *'jog po'i brag* or "Carpenter's Rock." This is the literal translation of Skt. Takṣaśilā, which is the name of a city in northwest India. It is better known under its Greek form Taxila. At the end of the story the name of the city occurs again, this time as *ljon shing gi brag* or "Tree's Rock." The author Haribhaṭṭa certainly did not vary the name of the city. We can safely assume that in this passage the Sanskrit manuscript was faulty or perhaps only indistinctly written so that the translator read *Vṛkṣaśilā instead of Takṣaśilā. So at least in our translation of the legend we are entitled to use the correct name even if there can be no doubt that the translator himself had translated a different name.

The second illustration is taken from the Tibetan translation of Candragomin's Buddhist play *Lokānanda* ("Joy for the World"). Its fifth act contains a brief scene in which an Indian proper name seems to be given in Tibetan transliteration. In that particular scene two tribal people try to abduct Padmāvatī, the heroine of the play, from the hermitage where she temporarily lives. The following is the Tibetan text and its English translation of the scene. While reading it one has to bear in mind that the utterances of actors in the Tibetan *Lokānanda* are always introduced by the particle *nas*:[18]

> *de nas padma can sha ba ri gnyis dang rjes su 'gro zhing rab tu zhugs so |*
>   *| sha ba ri dag nas |*
>   song mi khyod song
>   *zhes skad chen pos smra zhing*
>   khyod mi 'gro 'am *zhes*
>   *mad mā da ka zhes pa nas*

> bud med rnyed pa 'dis nga'i bu chung de'i nu ma bsnun pa'i ma
> ma byed do
>
> *zhes zer | gnyis pa nas |*
>
> ha kye ṇa ḍe kal lo la kā 'di ni 'u cag gnyis kyis thob bo | | ji ltar
> 'gro ba de ltar 'gror chug
>
> *zer |*

Padmāvatī appears, followed by two wild forest dwellers of the Śabara tribe.

THE TWO ŚABARAS:

> Get going, move along! *(With a loud voice)* You mean you don't want
> to go?

THE (ŚABARA) CALLED MADAMĀDAKA:

> This woman who has been captured shall become the wet-nurse of
> my young son!

THE OTHER ŚABARA:

> Ha, ha, Ṇaḍe, we've both caught this *kallolakā*, and first we have to
> get her to walk. Get going there!

For many years I was puzzled by the fact that one of the two tribal
people is given a name in the stage direction. For a number of reasons
this passage makes no sense at all. First, the name itself—"one who
intoxicates intoxication"—is meaningless and attested nowhere else.
Second, there is absolutely no need for a minor character in a play—es-
pecially one who appears only in a single brief scene—to bear a name.
And third, how could the spectators of the play know the name if it
is mentioned only in the stage direction? All these reasons convinced
me that *madamādaka* is neither a name nor part of the stage direction
but a part of the speech of the second Śabara. After thinking the mat-
ter over and over again I realized that *madamādaka*, if spoken by the
first Śabara, has to be Middle-Indic (Prakrit), not Sanskrit. As a Prakrit
word, *madamādaka* can have the meaning "somebody whose mother
has died," Skt. **mṛtamātṛka*. What the first Śabara actually says is, "His
mother has died, therefore this woman who has been captured shall
become the wet-nurse of my young son!" In hindsight it becomes clear
that the two words **madamādaka tti* "His mother has died, therefore …"
are absolutely necessary because they indicate the reason why the first
Śabara needs Padmāvatī for his little son.

The two translators of the play misunderstood the two Prakrit
words as designation of a name and translated accordingly. In the next
sentence they were again puzzled by the Prakrit word *kalhoḍakā* ("little
cow")—this is what I suspect behind the transliteration *kal lo la kā*—and
took it for a name or an epithet that the Śabaras gave to Padmāvatī

after they had caught her. Again it is not difficult to reconstruct the text which the *lotsāwas* partly transcribed, partly translated: **hā hā ṇa de (e)sā kalhoḍakā* ("Ho! Ho! This little cow does not [belong] to you [alone]!") By this interpretation of the two transliterated Prakrit passages the whole scene becomes logical and coherent and we see that sometimes it is possible to give a correct translation of a faulty Tibetan text.[20]

The second general consideration to be made is: What did the Tibetans themselves aim at when they rendered Indian texts into Tibetan? Fortunately, this can easily be answered since at the beginning of the ninth century CE the principles of how to translate Indian text were laid down in a short work entitled *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* ("[The Principles of] Literary Composition [Laid Down in] Two Fascicules"). It consists of a short preface in which some particulars are given about the time, place, participants, and reason of the conference at which the work was written, followed by a set of some twenty basic rules for the translator. The second part consists of a lengthy section in which the translation of four hundred important Indian terms is given and explained, obviously meant as a model for coining new expressions that are not contained in the huge terminological dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti* that was compiled simultaneously with the *Principles of Literary Composition*. I would like to quote three of these principles for the purpose of illustration:

(11) *bsnor na bde zhing go ba bskyed pa cig yod na | tshigs bcad la ni rtsa ba bzhi pa 'am | drug pa 'ang rung ste | tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi nang na gang bde ba bsnor zhing sgyur cig |*

If only by deviating [from the word order of the Indian original] »good language« and a correct understanding [of the meaning] can be achieved (*bsnor na bde zhing go ba bskyed pa cig yod na*), then one should translate in such a manner, that the deviation [produces] »good language« (*gang bde ba bsnor zhing*) within one stanza (*tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi nang na*); and as far as the stanzas are concerned (*tshigs bcad la ni*), the may have »four roots« or »six roots« (*rtsa ba bzhi pa 'am | drug pa 'ang rung ste*).[21]

(12) *rkyang pa la ni don gang snyegs pa yan chad kyi tshig dang don gnyis ka la gar bde bar bsnor zhing sgyur cig |*

In prose texts (*rkyang pa*) the [correct] meaning is the most important thing to be achieved (*don gang snyegs pa yan chad kyi*), however one should translate in such a manner, that the deviation [from the word

order of the Indian original produces] »good language« with regard to both: style and meaning (*tshig dang don gnyis ka la gar bde bar bsnor zhing sgyur cig*).[22]

(20) *pa ri dang | sam dang | u pa lta bu sogs te | tshig gi phrad dang rgyan lta bur 'byung ba rnams bsgyur na don daṅ mthun zhiṅ 'byor ba'i thabs ni | yongs su zhe 'am | yang dag pa zhe 'am | nye ba zhes sgra bzhin du sgyur cig | don lhag par snyegs pa med pa rnams ni tshig gi lhad kyis bsnan mi dogs kyis don bzhin du thogs shig |*

While translating words like *pari, sam, upa* etc., i.e., such [words], that are particle (*tshig gi phrad*) or have a kind of (*lta bu*) ornamental [function] (*rgyan*), the method (*thabs*) to achieve correspondence with the meaning (*don dang mthun zhing 'byor ba*) [is as follows]:
One should translate literally (*sgra bzhin du*) using [adverbial expressions like] *yongs su* [= completely], *yang dag pa* [= in the right manner] or *nye ba* [= near to].

However, in the case of such [particles whose usage] does not add (*snyegs pa*), to the meaning (*don lhag pa*) [of the simple word] it is not necessary to enlarge [the translation] by additional words, but one should translate (*thogs shig*) according to the meaning (*don bzhin du*).[23]

It can be observed that during the period of the so-called "first spread" (*snga dar*) of the Buddhist dharma in Tibet these and other principles were mostly followed, and the result is a great number of excellent Tibetan translations of important works from that time. I would like to mention the whole of the *Vinaya*, which, because of its practical role, had to be translated as faithfully and intelligibly as possible. The same standard is shown in the Tibetan translation of two early and voluminous collections of Buddhist legends, the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Karmaśataka*. Also some of the finest works of Buddhist poetry were rendered masterfully at this early period, such as the two famous hymns by Mātṛceṭa, the one in 150 stanzas entitled *The Rise of Insight through Faith* (*Prasādapratibhodbhava*) and the one in approximately 400 stanzas entitled *Praise of the Praiseworthy* (*Varṇārhavarṇa*); the three oldest epistles by Nāgārjuna ("Letter to a Friend," *Suhṛllekha*), Mātṛceṭa ("Letter to the Great King Kaniṣka," *Mahārājakaniṣka-lekha*), and Candragomin ("Letter to a Disciple," *Śiṣyalekha*); four works on worldly wisdom attributed to Nāgārjuna and Ravigupta; and finally, two works attributed to Āryaśura ("Garland of Birth-Stories," *Jātakamālā*; and "Compendium of the Moral Perfections," *Pāramitāsamāsa*). The fact that we have early translations of Indian poetical works is sometimes overlooked by

Western scholars. I was very surprised when I once read in a paper by David Jackson on the Tibetan translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* that he places the beginning of Tibetan translations of ornate poetry in the twelfth century CE, i.e., four centuries later than the actual beginning.[24]

Now I would like to single out two works, the two works by, or attributed to, Āryaśūra. The style of their Tibetan renderings is so different that they represent two opposite alternatives. The Tibetan version of the *Garland of Birth-Stories* is simply the *Principles of Literary Composition* put into practice. A few years ago one of my students, Albrecht Hanisch, prepared a new edition of the Sanskrit text of the first fifteen legends, in the framework of which he also studied its Tibetan translation quite carefully.[25] He says that within these fifteen legends he could not find a single mistake, but many places where the Tibetan translation presented a better text than the two oldest Nepalese manuscripts dating from the eleventh and twelfth century or a better understanding than that presented in the modern translations of the work. One particularly noteworthy feature is the scarce use of Tibetan adverbs in order to translate Sanskrit verbal prefixes. In accordance with rule 20 quoted above they are generally avoided in all those cases when a simple verb in Tibetan is sufficient to convey the meaning of a verb compound in Sanskrit. Above I mentioned the compound *saṃ-mānayati*, "to honor, to pay respect to," and its nominal derivations. The equivalents in the Tibetan *Jātakamālā* are: *bkur sti, bkur sti cher byed pa, bkur sti bgyi ba* (or *byed pa*), *mgu bar byed pa* ("to please"), *mgron (s)byar* ("hospitality"), *mchod cing bkur ba, sbyin pa* ("to give; charity"). When one studies the respective passages one will see that the translators always render the very specific nuance that the word has in that particular context, and only in one place do we find a separate rendering—not a mechanical one—of the prefix *sam-* by *cher* ("greatly") when the king is "greatly honored" by the people.

Rule 18 of the *Principles of Literary Composition* says that when translating the names of countries, beings, flowers, trees, etc. whose Tibetan renderings might become unclear or ambiguous the Sanskrit term should be kept together with a prefixed generic term like "the country," "the flower," and so on, so that the reader immediately knows what is meant. Thus we find the following expressions in the Tibetan *Jātakamālā*:

*sh**ing tog** a mra'i 'bras bu* ("mango fruit, a fruit growing on a tree") for *āmraphala* (Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* 6.27+)

yul shi bi pa rnams ("the inhabitants of the country called Śibi") for *śibayaḥ* (Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* 9.0, 9.16+, 9.21+)

rin po che spur len ("the jewel called *spur len*") for *puṣparāga* ("topaz") (Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* 14.17+).

In later translations like that of Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā we find expressions like *lhan cig byed pa* ("helper, assistant, co-worker") where actually "mango tree" is meant. One of its names is *sahakāra*, which was translated literally without using a generic term.

Occasionally we find places where the two modern English translations missed the point while the Tibetan rendering is correct. In stanza 2.12ab we read:

śakrasya śakrapratimānuśiṣṭyā
tvāṃ yācituṃ cakṣur ihāgato 'smi |

Speyer translates this as: "It is Sakra. His statue, instructing me to ask thee for thy eye, has caused me to come here."[26] Quite similarly Khoroche translates: "Śakra. It is at the bidding of an image of Śakra that I have come here to ask you for your eye."[27] Both interpret *śakrasya* as reply to *kasya* in 2.11d, thereby accepting that *śakrasya* in 2.12a would then be an isolated word, which is stylistically not so fortunate. The Tibetan understands the sentence quite differently:

brgya byin 'dra ba brgya byin gyis bstan nas |
khyod la spyan sloṅ slad du 'dir mchis so |

At the command of Śakra, oh you spitting image of Śakra
I came here to request your eye.

The Sanskrit commentary confirms this interpretation: *śakrapratime**ty āmantraṇam | **śakrasyānuśiṣṭyā** śakropadeśena |.* "'Oh you spitting image of Śakra'—that is a vocative. 'At the command of Śakra' [means]: at the instruction of Śakra."[28]

The Tibetan translation of Āryaśūra's *Compendium of the Moral Perfections* is a very unique text in that only 40 percent of its 355 stanzas[29] is translated more or less verbally.[30] In the other 60 percent we find translations that are sometimes as free as some of the Chinese translations of Indian works. It abounds in unusually free renderings of individual words, e.g., *chos rgyal* for *muni*; *stobs, mthu,* and *mthun pa* for *guṇa*; *thob byed* for *māyā*; *mya ngan* for *aśubhasvapna*; etc. Quite often the *hendiadys* principle[32] is used, that is, using two Tibetan words

for one Sanskrit word, such as *blangs shing khyer byed* ("[they] take and carry away") for *apaharanti* ("they take away"), *phan zhing mkho gyur* ("became useful and helpful") for *upayujyamāna* ("being used"), *blang zhing gzung* ("are to be taken and kept") for *grāhyataram eti* ("[his words] become acceptable"), etc. Other specific features are the words belonging to the old language (*rnying skad*), and it is one of the very few canonical texts—if I am not mistaken—that still uses the archaic construction of a case particle followed by a plural particle like *chos kyi rnams* for *dharmāḥ*, *tshig gi rnams* for *akṣarāḥ*, or *mang tshogs kyi rnams* for *anekāni*. We also observe quite peculiar renderings of Sanskrit prefixes: e.g., *rgyun du* and *kun tu* for *pra-* or *mang du* and *gtan du* for *sam-*. Since we find a great number of very correctly translated stanzas it is not very likely that these unusual equivalents were chosen out of lack of competence.

I would like to illustrate the great range of freedom—from extremely literal to extremely free—by three examples taken from the thesis of Naoki Saito.

(a) A very literal translation can be found in the following case:

> *vikalpaśāntiṃ paramārthatas tu*
> *kṣāntiṃ kṣamātattvavido vadanti |*
> *tasmād vikalpopaśame yateta*
> *svapnopamaṃ lokam avekṣamāṇaḥ || 3.20 ||*
> *rnam rtog zhi ba don dam bzod pa zhes ||*
> *bzod pa'i yang dag nyid mkhyen de dag gsungs ||*
> *de bas 'jig rten *rmi 'dra rtogs bya zhing ||*
> *rnam rtog nye bar zhi la nan tan gyis || 3.19 ||*

> The disappearance ("calming") of conceptual constructions, however—
> that is true forbearance according to those
> who know about real forbearance.
> Therefore, realizing that the world is like a dream,
> one should strive for the disappearance of conceptual constructions.

rmi 'dra, "like a dream," in line (c) is a restored reading on the basis of Sanskrit *svapnopamaṃ*. All the five Tanjur editions (CDNQ) read *mi 'dra* ("not resembling"), which spoils the meaning of the stanza completely. There can be little doubt that this is a later corruption. Unfortunately this stanza does not belong to those quoted by Tsongkhapa in his *Lam rim chen mo*, which, as a rule, represent an older and more authentic text. There is only one minor discrepancy: *de dag* ("those") qualifying *bzod pa'i yang dag nyid mkhyen* (Skt. *kṣamātattvavido*) has no equivalent

in the Sanskrit original. Either *de dag* was added for metrical reasons or Vairocanarakṣita's Sanskrit manuscript read *te* instead of *tu*.

(b) In the following stanza we find a divergent interpretation of the Sanskrit stanza in combination with a freer treatment of the syntax:

> *dvandvapravṛtter vinivṛttabuddhiḥ*
> *prāg eva dārapraṇayāt parasya |*
> *kurvīta lokasya hitārthakartrīḥ*
> *kāyena ceṣṭāḥ sujanasya ceṣṭāḥ || 2.3 ||*

> Having reverted one's thoughts from the activity of copulation,
> not to speak of the attachment to the wife of someone else,
> one should perform bodily deeds that accomplish the welfare of others
> and are appreciated by the good.

> *kha *gtad spyod pa'i blo las phyir log pas ||*
> *thog mar gzhan gyi bud med bslu ba'i blo ||*
> *yongs su gtang bya 'jig rten phan byed *pa'i ||*
> *lus kyi spyod pa skyes bu mchog ltar bsgrub || 2.3 ||*

> Having abstained from the thought of *quarrelling
> one should first of all abandon completely
> the thought of seducing ("cheating") the wife of someone else,
> and, like a good person, accomplish bodily acts that benefit others.[33]

This stanza is a good illustration of how a misunderstanding eventually led to a textual corruption. The ambiguous term *dvandva-* means both "couple; coupling" and "quarrel, dispute, fight."[34] Vairocanarakṣita took it in the latter sense, although the context makes it quite clear what is meant. Unfortunately he chose as the Tibetan equivalent a comparatively rare expression, *kha gtad pa*, "to confront, to oppose; law-suit," not to be found frequently in the texts translated from Indian languages where *dvandva* is usually rendered as *gnyis (kyi) gnyis*.[35] Therefore it later became corrupted as *kha ton* ("recitation"), which is quite meaningless in the context of the stanza. A second misunderstanding on the part of Vairocanarakṣita concerns *prāg eva*, "how much more; how much less," that he took in the sense in *ādau*, "in the beginning." Very interesting is the manner in which he translated *vinivṛttabuddhiḥ* twice: first (almost) literally as *blo las phyir log pas* ("having reverted from the thought of . . .") then as *blo yongs su gtang bya* ("one should abandon completely the thought of"). As for the nice linguistic *sujanasya ceṣṭāḥ* ("and appreciated by the good"), it is not clear whether *skyes bu mchog ltar* ("like a good person") goes back to a correct understanding or is just a guess.

Although Vairocanarakṣita missed the meaning of two Sanskrit terms, the Tibetan stanza makes sense in the context of a chapter dealing with morality. Moreover, its syntax is genuine and shows no traces of Sanskritisms. As stated before, mistakes of this kind are comparatively rare.

(c) A stanza that was translated rather freely is the following one:

kudṛṣṭipaṅkākramaṇālasas tu
prāpnoti kalyāṇahṛdaḥ sahāyān |
karmasvako 'stīti ca karma pāpaṃ
viśasyamāno 'pi karoti naiva || 2.42 ||

However, he who is reluctant
to step into the mud of wrong views
will have friends who care for his (spiritual) welfare;
and being aware that man will have to bear
the fruits of his own deeds[36]
under no circumstances he will commit a bad deed
even when [threatened to be] cut apart.

log par lta ba'i 'dam la mi 'dug na |
dge ba sgrub pa'i grogs dang phrad par 'gyur |
rang gi las bzhin 'gyur bar *rnam mthong bas |
sdig pa'i las rnams *des ni yongs su spong | 2.42 |

If he does not dwell in the mud of wrong views
he will definitely meet a friend who accomplishes his (spiritual)
    welfare.
Since he clearly sees that [his life] will develop according to his own
    deeds
he completely abstains from evil deeds.[37]

We see that the two expressions (*ā*)*kramaṇālasas*[38] and *kalyāṇahṛdas sahāyān* have been translated freely but nevertheless in accordance with the meaning of the Sanskrit original. The word *iti,* "(thinking) this," has been expanded to **rnam mthong bas,* "since he clearly sees"; *viśasyamāno 'pi* was left untranslated; and *karoti naiva*, "under no circumstances he will commit," was suitably changed to *yongs su spong*, "he completely abstains."

A detailed analysis of the stanzas translated in such a free manner reveals that in most cases the meaning of the original stanzas was maintained although sometimes expressed rather freely. One can only guess what was the reason for the peculiar way of rendering a Sanskrit text. I have two explanations to offer. The first is that the *Principles of*

Literary Composition had not yet been laid down, that this translation is actually one of the earliest translations that provoked the conference and the formulation of these principles. The second is that the translator wished to make the translation more palpable for a Tibetan audience or readership, that he wished to write Tibetan, not translationese. The early date of this translation—it was done at the end of the eighth century—makes such an assumption likely. It is noteworthy that the translation was done only by a Tibetan, Vairocanarakṣita, without the assistance of an Indian pandit. Some of the interpretations are so peculiar that one gets the impression that they reflect the interpretation of a now lost commentary. The original Sanskrit text is partly so condensed that one indeed wishes to have the assistance of a reliable commentary.

The interruption of the first period of Tibetan translations of Indian works that was caused by the political events in the ninth century had as a consequence a considerable change in the standard of the Tibetan translations. The new style of the new language became more mechanical, and the wise rules of the *Principles of Literary Composition* were largely ignored. Among the *kāvya* texts translated during this period are a great number of hymns and epistles, Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*, Candragomin's *Lokānanda,* Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, and the five works translated by Shong-ston rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan:

1. Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, a collection of 108 Buddhist legends in verse form, counting 7,361 stanzas (it is on this work that Shong-ston's fame in Tibet is founded);
2. Harṣadeva's six-act play *Nāgānanda* ("Joy for the Nāgas");
3. Vajradatta's *Lokeśvaraśataka* ("Century of Stanzas in Praise of Avalokiteśvara"), composed in a very baroque style;
4. Daṇḍin's poetological treatise *Kāvyādarśa* ("Mirror of Composition"); and
5. Jñānaśrīmitra's *Vṛttamālāstuti* ("Praise [of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī] in the Form of a Garland of [Various] Meters"), a very refined work that illustrates 150 different Sanskrit meters.

Shong-ston has developed a very regular style. As a rule he uses only one or two standard equivalents of a Sanskrit term, and prefixes are frequently rendered separately even when this is not necessary. As a rule he follows the rules of Tibetan syntax; only occasionally do we observe syntactical Sanskritisms, but mostly in such cases it is when

the meaning becomes clear from the context. A special feature is his frequent use of the collective particle *dag* and the isolation particle *ni.* It is surprising that despite the great amount of *kāvya* translated he never developed a technique for translating *śleṣas* or double entendres. He never translates a stanza twice in order to convey both meanings to the prospective Tibetan reader, but he always makes an awkward compromise by translating the first meaning of one word and the second meaning of the next word, the result being a strange mixture of incompatible parts. Nevertheless, as a whole his translations are to 95 percent reliable and quite often clear and pleasant to read. They surpass those of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* and Candragomin's *Lokānanda* by far, which is somewhat unfair since the latter two works are partly or entirely lost whereas the works translated by Shong-ston are available in Sanskrit. It would have been better for us if we had excellent translations of lost works while we could live quite well with mediocre or poor translations of extant works.

Lack of time prevents me from presenting two interesting cases of two Buddhist hymns that were translated thrice, Sarvajñamitra's *Sragdharāstotra* and Carpaṭi's *Lokanāthastotra.* The first case is interesting insofar as the second translation is little more than a revision of the first one, whereas the third translation is a complete reorganization: the long lines of the first two translation with their nineteen syllables are broken into units of seven syllables only, very much in the line of the *Subhāṣitaratna.* The three translations of the *Lokanāthastotra* are obviously completely independent of each other, thereby offering a good illustration of how differently one can translate the same text. This is actually the best counterevidence against the alleged uniformity of the Tibetan translations as a whole.

At the end of this article I would like to quote Sa-skya Paṇḍita's critical assessment of the transformation of Indian meter into Tibetan that is valid—*cum grano salis*—for many translations of Indian texts:

> *rang nyid kyi skad la ngo bo nyid kyi sdeb sbyor gyi tha snyad med la*[39] *| legs par sbyar ba'i skad nyid las* [4] *bod du bsgyur yang za 'og gi mdun gyi ri mo bsgyur ba rgyab tu mi 'byung ba ltar | don tsam zhig bsgyur bar nus kyi | sdeb sbyor bsgyur du mi rung zhing | bdag cag lta bu legs par shes pa dag*[40] *gis kyang bod kyi skad la ji ltar 'bad du zin kyang | lwa ba'i thags la gos chen gyi ri mo mi shes* [5] *pa ltar | legs par*[41] *sbyar ba'i sdeb sbyor bod kyi skad la mi 'byor bas | sdeb sbyor mtshan nyid pa bod skad la dper brjod pa ma byas so |* (vol. *tha*, foll. 283a3–5)

In our own language there is no established usage of genuine meters, and yet [verses] have been translated from the Sanskrit language into Tibetan; however, [this] resembles a painting on a precious piece of brocade that has been turned and then does not appear on its reverse side. While the meaning alone can be translated, the meters are not suited to be translated. Even people like us who are familiar with [Indian meters] have made any possible effort with the Tibetan language; however, since the meters of Sanskrit cannot be adapted to the Tibetan language like a pattern of brocade cannot be [drawn] on a woolen cloth, [we] have not illustrated in Tibetan the [Indian] meters with [all] their characteristics.

While several of the illustrations given above seem to confirm quote Sa-skya Paṇḍita's critical statement, there are fortunately many noteworthy exceptions, most of which can be found among the translations done during the first spread of the dharma to Tibet.

NOTES

1. Heinz Zimmerman, *Die Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā*, Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975).

2. Michael Hahn, "Zu Heinz Zimmermann: Die Subhāṣita-Ratna-Karaṇḍaka-Kathā und ihre tibetische Übersetzung," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 22 (1978): 49–56.

3. A. C. Banerjee, ed., "Appendix: Subhāṣita-Ratnakaraṇḍaka-Kathā of Ārya Śūra," in *Jātaka-Mālā by Ārya Śūra*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 21 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1959), 275–307.

4. Michael Hahn, *Die Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā: Ein spätbuddhistischer Text zur Verdienstlehre*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

5. "The Tibetan translations are, as a rule, very faithful and almost verbatim. But the present text on collation with the Tibetan versions is found to have more divergence than agreement. Further, there is a slight difference between the two Tibetan versions. It is, therefore, likely that the Tibetan renderings were made not from the present work but from some other, lost to us. In other words, there were texts other than our present text that the Tibetan translators made use of." Ibid., 277.

6. In my presentation of the Tibetan text I have adopted Zimmermann's marking system by which he indicates at the left side to which of the four lines of the Sanskrit stanza a Tibetan line corresponds.

7. Siglinde Dietz, *Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens: Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert* (The Buddhist Epistolary Literature of India: Edited, Translated and Commented upon according to the Tibetan Tanjur), Asiatische Forschungen vol. 84 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984).

8. "Bemerkenswert ist die gegenüber der TV von SRKK weitaus bessere tib. Übersetzung in unserem Text" [Noteworthy is the fact that the Tibetan translation in our text is by far superior to the Tibetan version of *Subhāṣitaratna*]; ibid., 203 n. 151. Stanzas 6 and 7 of the *Maṇḍalavidhi* quote *Subhāṣitaratna* 67 and 65.

9. Cf. John Brough, "The Chinese Pseudo-Translation of Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-Mālā," *Asia Major*, n.s., 11 (1964): 27–53. Reprinted in John Brough, *Collected Papers*, ed. Minoru Hara and J. C. Wright (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1996), 217–243.

10. Michael Hahn, "On Some Old Corruptions in the Transmission of the Tibetan Tanjur,"*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43 (1989): 359–367.

11. These are the abbreviations used for the four Tibetan xylographs: C = Chone, D = Derge, N = Narthang, Q = Qianlong. GśT = The canonical Tibetan translation of Vararuci´s *Gāthāśataka*; see Géza Bethlenfalvy, "The *Śatagāthā* attributed to Vararuci," in *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies*, vol. 1, Bibliotheca orientalis hungarica 24/1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 17–58.

12. Ludwik Sternbach, *Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*, vols. 1–2 (Hoshiyarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1967–1968); Ramshankar Bhattacharya, ed., *Garuḍapurāṇa: Garuḍapurāṇam of Maharṣi Vedavyāsa*, Kashi Sanskrit Series 165 (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1964); the original Sanskrit of Vararuci's *Gāthāśataka* is now lost.

14. In the Sanskrit text as quoted from *Cāṇakya-Nīti* I cannot account for the two instances of *ca* in line c. I think the variant reading *cāpriyvādinī yā* is to be preferred.

15. The exceptions are, for example, the precanonical versions found in Central Asia or Dunhuang or quotations in older Tibetan texts.

16. Masaaki Hattori, *Dignāga, On Perception: Being the Pratyakṣapariccheda of Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya from the Sanskrit Fragments and the Tibetan Versions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968).

17. Ernst Steinkellner, "Review of Hattori 1996," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 15 (1971): 222–224.

18. Cf. Michael Hahn, *Candragomins Lokānandanāṭaka. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt. Ein Beitrag zur klassischen indischen Schauspieldichtung*, Asiatische Forschungen 39 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), 192; and Michael Hahn, trans., *Joy for the World: A Buddhist Play by Candragomin* (Berkeley, CA: Dharma Publishing, 1987), 111.

20. This example was already given in my paper "On Some Rare Particles, Words and Auxiliaries," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Fagernes 1992*, ed. Per Kværne, vol. 1.2 (Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 288–294.

21. Nils Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien: Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*, vol. 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957), 248. The transliteration of Tibetan was replaced by the one used here.

22. Ibid., 249.

23. Ibid., 255.

24. David Jackson, "On the Date of the Tibetan Translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita,*" *Studia Indologiczne* 4 (1997): 41–62.

25. Albrecht Hanisch, *Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā: Untersuchungen zu den Legenden 1 bis 15, Einleitung, Textausgabe, Anhänge, Register,* Indica et Tibetica Philologische vols. 43.1 and 43.2 (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica, 2005).

26. From J. S. Speyer, *Garland of Birth-Stories,* Sacred Books of the Buddhists vol. 1 (Oxford: H. Frowde, 1895), 12.

27. Peter Khoroche, trans., *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey: Ārya Śūra's Jātakamālā* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 12.

28. The incomplete *Jātakamālāṭīkā* on Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā,* which covers only the first fifteen legends, has been edited by Ratna Basu in her unpublished thesis, "Eine literatur-kritische Studie zu Āryaśūras Jātakamālā zusammen mit einer kritischen Edition der anonymen Jātakamālāṭīkā und einer kritischen Edition der Jātakamālāpañjikā des Vīryasiṃha" (Bonn, 1989). The thesis can be consulted in a mimeographed edition in the German university libraries.

29. The Sanskrit has 363 stanzas, 8 of which are omitted in Tibetan.

30. Recently this Tibetan text has been edited and studied in the doctoral thesis of my Japanese student Naoki Saito; see his *Das Kompendium der moralischen Vollkommenheiten. Vairocanaraksitas tibetische Übertragung von Aryasuras Paramitasamasa samt Neuausgabe des Sanskrittextes,* Indica et Tibetica vol. 38 (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica, 2005).

32. See *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "Hendiadys": "A figure of speech in which a single complex idea is expressed by two words usu. connected by *and* (e.g., *nice* and *warm* for *nicely warm*)."

33. We have emended the *byed pas* to *byed pa'i* because only this is in accordance with the Sanskrit original. The confusion of a genitive with an instrumental (and vice versa) is one of the most frequently occurring mistakes.

34. Cf. *dvandvaṃ tu mithune yugme dvandvaḥ kalahaguhyayoḥ | dvandvaṃ 'khrig pa dang zung la || dvandvaḥ 'thab dang gsang ba la |* in the *Abhidhānaviśvalocanam of Śrīdharasena,* ed. Lozang Jamspal in collaboration with Alex Wayman (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), entry 2136cd.

35. Cf. Akira Hirakawa, *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (P. Pradhan Edition), Part One: Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese* (Tokyo: Daizo Shuppan, 1973).

36. The Sanskrit *karmasvako 'smīti* would be stylistically preferable.

37. The Tibetan text has a different form in the eighteenth century editions of the Tibetan Tanjur. In line (b), all of them (i.e., CDGNQ) read *de bas* instead of **dge ba.* Instead of **sgrub,* CD have *bsgrub* while GNQ read *bsgrubs.* In line (c) CDGNQ read *lam* instead of **rnam,* and in line (d) we have emended the transmitted readings *de* and *spongs* as *des and **spong.* The emendation *dge

ba[*s*] for *de bas* is undisputable because of *kalyāṇa*° in the Sanskrit original. The reading **dge bas bsgrubs pa'i* "accomplished by [one's own] (spiritual) welfare," which is closer to the Tanjur editions, is not entirely impossible, however very clumsy, and therefore rather unlikely in my opinion. A rendering of the canonical text could run as follows: "If (you) do not dwell in the mud of wrong views (you) will definitely meet a friend produced from that [cause]. Seeing the way in which one's own deeds will develop (*'gyur *ba'i*) you should completely abstain from those (*de* ?) evil deeds."

38. Perhaps the Sanskrit text should be emended as *kudṛṣṭipaṅkakramaṇālasas tu.*